



## THE SHIFTING SHADES OF ELEGANCE ON DISPLAY IN 1930S ESTORIL: WHEN TOURISM MEETS FASHION

**Cristina Carvalho**

*Estoril Higher Institute for Tourism and Hotel Studies, Portugal  
Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa - UID/HIS/04311/2013*

In 1914 Fausto Figueiredo, the mastermind behind Estoril's resort, wrote the town resembled a woman whose staggering beauty only lacked the artificial sense of fashion trends, in order to drive men wild. As his project developed across a valley by the sea, facilities and events created for tourist enjoyment and based on cosmopolitan aesthetic principles internationally conveyed the image the new resort sought for itself. In the 1930s Estoril's shopping arcades sold the latest fashion items recently arrived from Paris, while stores in Lisbon advertised specific clothing pieces meant to be worn while playing golf or enjoying equestrian shows. The *Modas & Bordados* magazine also taught beauty tips to middle and upper-class women, besides publishing models to be worn at the Casino, at the Tamariz beach, and on posh racing events. On the other hand, the Casino's advertisements often entitled its programmes (whether dinners, balls, theme parties, or teas) as *elegant initiatives*. The venue served also as the perfect set for hair styling competitions, conferences on cosmetics, and fashion shows later mocked at radio appearances and newspapers. A satirical play then performed at a folk theatre even revolved around the hedonism copied after Paris and the Riviera, and one of the scenes focused on an indescribable modern beverage: the Cocktail. The 1930s also set the tone for a new type of skin beauty: out with the pale and on with the tan. Movie stars were the role models to emulate, and in 1935 British actress Heather Thatcher's funny episode in Estoril proved there was more to tanning than just lying under the sun. This empirical paper is based on the research the author has conducted for her Ph.D thesis entitled *Tourism in the Estoril-Cascais Coastal Axis (1929-1939): Equipments, Events and Destination Promotion*.

**Keywords:** Estoril, Fashion, Hedonism, Tourism, 1930s.

### Introduction

Despite what the title of this paper might suggest, it is neither an essay on futility, nor an exercise on sheer hedonism and narcissism. In the 1980s Lipovetsky (1987 /1989) admitted the lack of interested a subject like Fashion received from researchers dedicated to the understanding of modern societies (p. 15). Three decades later, Baldini (2005/ 2006) reveals the phenomenon has been studied by sociologists, economists, psychologists and other scholars, although conservative minds keep on labelling it as an evil habit; an Italian saying even refers that the Devil himself always wears the latest fashion (pp. 30-31). This empirical paper is based on the research its author conducted for her PhD thesis in History (of Tourism) in the Estoril-Cascais coastal axis between 1929 and 1939 (Anjos, 2012). During the investigation process many were the news collected on what clothes should women wear on certain

occasions, on how should they behave at specific social stages, on which fashion and beauty tips had to be emulated, and on the means finest to retain the best of sunlight, in order to embellish skin features, among other shallow details revolving around Beauty & Fashion at the resort.

Organised into five topics, after a brief literature review on Fashion & Tourism, one shall compare Travel Literature examples describing Estoril as a stunning cosmopolitan Lady of renowned beauty, and then focusing on leisure practices and the urgency for the proper allure at every social setting. One proceeds to the casino's stage and the events programmed to advise middle-class women on feasible tips and tricks, besides suggesting a wide array of items for them to purchase as the divine key to Happiness; the last section will focus on the paradigm shift of skin tones and of beachwear during the Great Depression years. While poor city dwellers craved for the silver screen illusion of the *Talkies*, the well-off fled to foreign seaside havens like Estoril. By 1933 the French journalist Marcel Augagneur visited the Lisbon's outskirts' (*Sunny Coast*) destination, where he sighed before its exclusive and visual delights, wishing it would never witness the arrival of trains packed with the anonymous and the deformed as the French Riviera already did (*O Estoril*, 15 Oct. 1933, p. 1).

## Literature Review

In 1930s Estoril, the broad range of influences found from the Parisian items sold at the local shopping Arcades and Lisbon's stores, to the visits of English-speaking movie stars and their physical concerns, including the passage of renowned cosmetics' scientists and hairdressers reinforced the bond between cosmopolitan trends and Tourism. As Rauch states it proved that "ne circulent pas simplement des personnes, mais aussi leurs images sociales" (qt. in Marques, 2002, p. 101-102), much like Appadurai's concept of *Ideoscapes* refers to the free circulation of ideas (qt. in Löfgren, 2002, p. 93), and that is easily perceived when reading Estoril's founding father's 1914 brochure. Fausto Figueiredo referred that a cosmetic improvement should be applied to the future resort's natural blessings, where the British should have a Golf course and shops ought to sell Europe's (actually, Paris') latest fashion to the resort's attendants; his goal would be accomplished mostly from 1929 onwards.

In 1930 John Carl Flugel published *The Psychology of Clothes*, claiming Fashion implied social and sexual competition between classes and genders across the Ages, and that is why each period emanates the spirit of its timeline (qtd. in Baldini, 2005/ 2006, pp. 69-70). Five decades later, Lipovetsky (1987 /1989) goes even further when mentioning that the 20<sup>th</sup> century's political and cultural changes revolved around individualism, hedonism and boredom, and Fashion became one of the mainsprings of evolution (p. 119). On another book, the same author (1988) stresses that (the 1920s and 1930s) Modernism represented a breach with the past and with tradition, even recalling Baudelaire's belief that Beauty, Fashion and Modernity are all synonyms (qt. in Lipovetsky, pp. 76-77). Perniola (1998) defends a similar notion that living is not to fuel the mere sigh of revisiting the past, but rather an active continuum of stamina and enjoyment of life's originality, mostly through aesthetic rapture (pp. 22-25). On her study about Advertising, Fashion and Furniture in Portugal during the 1920s and 1930s, Lobo (1998), too, recalls that the Lisbonian women sought to keep up with the trends of their Age, when urban, cosmopolitan ladies were perceived as Mistresses of Artificiality and Frivolity, as if constant happiness was an attainable asset (p. 144).

The inauguration of Estoril's Golf course in 1929 and its enjoyment by the well-off explain why, for instance, in 1931 the *Couture* shop *A Parisiense* advertised the pieces available for every occasion, highlighting the resort's course (*ABC*, 25 April 1931, p. 14). The reference revealed the spirit of Time, since

golf was a game in which class and status was a major consideration in every aspect of its organization, from the appointment of the right kind of person as the club secretary, to the administration of the new members ... [,] right down to the proper dress code (Hill, 2002, p. 143).

According to Baldini (2005/ 2006), “a moda é a sacralização do novo, a deificação do presente ... [...] a apoteose da renovação lúdica e a santificação do prazer de mudar. É a emancipação do passado e do futuro” (p. 41). The author approaches the divinity of the New & the Now, the Apotheosis of the Ephemeral that one may somewhat link to the spirit of 1930s Portugal, considering Salazar’s New State had been implemented by the 1933 Constitution and was then promoted as a blank page in the country’s History, a fresh start after years of political, economic and social decay. But there was more to the Dictatorship’s intentions and its social pyramid than met the eye, since there were two realities to consider: the factual, sensed by most of the Portuguese; and the constructed, ‘sold’ to convince the elites and visitors of the renovating spirit of the regime.

Across western societies, Fashion & Fame were perceived as compulsory adjectives to define world-class resorts (the playground of the leisured classes) also announcing the level of civility each state strove for itself. This notion arose in 1912 when French *Couturier* Paul Poiret set the tone for fashion tours across Europe and the United States, an initiative that led anonymous good-looking girls to stardom, or as Riello (2012/ 2013) refers, “Assim, Poiret eleva a anónima *Sosie* ao papel de *top model*” (p. 89). Lipovetsky (1987/ 1989) defends that the core of fashion is all about showing and indulging Oneself off (p. 52): it is all about the *I* and the remarkable individual notion of *Self*, according to the narcissistic streaks of each Age. As Lipovetsky & Roux (2003/ 2012) recall, the *Couturier* was a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century creation when they became artists whose luxury pieces were only afforded by the wealthy, yet reaching a greater number of clients thanks to the most recent techniques of industrial production (pp. 52-53). He (1987/ 1989) also states that the *Art Déco* exhibition of 1925 had included 72 *Haut-Couture* houses, since Paris then set the trend in every field of the Artistic and Aesthetic principles (pp. 97-99).

Since the 1910s fashion designers produced heavenly scents that when properly combined with clothing masterpieces turned every woman into a modern goddess. Poiret’s 1914 *Fruit défendu* and Chanel’s 1921 *Nr.5* were/are bewitching scents recalled by Lipovetsky (2003/ 2012), who also reflects on the roles of each gender from the 1850s onwards and on the fact that middle-class women were rulers of the household and role models of Taste & Elegance (p. 53). However, they were subjected to their male counterpart, being a mere visual reflection of Men’s power, and the act of consumption was a self-compensation before their invisible social shackles (*Idem*, pp. 82-86). Pearce (2010) writes that women’s urgency to remain young and beautiful was directly linked to the pressure conveyed by the growing advertising industry (p. 16). Baldini (2005/ 2006) writes that one communicates through one’s image, thus unveiling one’s mood swings (pp. 94-96); the author mentions Alison Laurie’s 1983 book *The Language of Clothes*, where she defends the existence of a code, several languages and dialects with specific vocabulary, structures and grammar rules, accents and personal variations. Therefore, it is through the combination of clothes, accessories, cuts, textures, colours and shades, and lavish accessories (like jewellery pieces and perfume scents) that each bearer speaks her mind out and imposes her uniqueness, in order to be worth noticing and have an escape from the cold harshness of reality: it is as if *Madame Bovary*’s spirit lived on in each 1930s middle-class woman.

Speaking of genders, only female fashion will be analysed in this study because of the women’s role on displaying the male counterpart’s financial power, and the actual simplicity of men’s clothing. Since the dawn of Mankind every society did bet on the ostentation of its leader’s vestments and ceremonies to thus remind each community member of such pivotal position. However, the Industrial Age shifted those lavish symbols into a paradigm of sobriety, austerity, thriftiness, and discipline, leaving the stage now to his wife and daughters (and mistresses, one might add) (Lipovetsky & Roux, 2003/ 2012, pp. 82-83). Luxury became a hint of gender and a giveaway of rank, assisting everyone in securing their role in society (*Idem*, p. 77). Examples that gentlemen were expected to wear a black suit and tie can be found across 1930s Portuguese newspapers when advertising any inauguration, gala dinner, Garden Party or closing banquet connected to fashionable Estoril; on the latter one may refer the closing day of the 1<sup>st</sup> *National Congress of Tourism*, in January 1936, and its delegates’ farewell session (*O Século*, 17 Jan. 1936, p. 6) with these attire rules being respected at the Estoril Casino.

As far as Tourism is concerned, its development resorts to promotion based on the selling of an ideal, dream-like image through outdoors, advertisements, postcards, photographs, among others. Regardless

the means, Aurindo (2004) states the visual component is important, yet, not the sole vehicle of communication, and the written records that sustain this paper hopefully prove it (p. 38). The modern awareness of Tourism derived from the Industrial Revolution and a new understanding of Time. To the productive, profane and religious moments, a 3<sup>rd</sup> type was added: the period for leisure activities, especially when the Western world started paying its workers to decently enjoy their spare time. Henriques (1996) shares this idea when writing that

o turismo propriamente dito ... é um produto da sociedade moderna, capitalista e industrial ... [pois] à medida que a fábrica substitui a oficina de produção artesanal ... assistia-se também a uma separação cada vez mais evidente dos espaços de produção e reprodução social (p. 28).

Tourism & Fashion walk hand-in-hand, not only because of tangible consumption purposes, but also due to each individual's psychological need of approval by their economic group, besides the emotional escape these two social practices (still) represent.

### **Estoril: A Stunning Cosmopolitan Lady**

When in 1914 Fausto Figueiredo presented to the government a brochure describing his dream-like resort, his eloquence painted a rather bright watercolour of *Lady* Estoril's natural delights and on how careful urban planning could still improve its elegance. As one reads on the original document:

O Estoril é como uma mulher prodigiosamente bella a quem só falta o artifício das convenções estheticas da moda para enlouquecer e seduzir os homens. No dia em que se tiver transformado n'este sentido ... teremos, enfim, no nosso paiz ..., o *rendez-vous* do turismo universal[.] ... Ora esse dia não vem longe (*Estoril*, n/d, n/p).

As his project developed across a valley of umbrella pines, facilities and events created for international tourists' enjoyment and based on cosmopolitan aesthetic principles conveyed the image the destination sought for itself. Resorting to the travel literature of the 1930s, visitors associated Estoril's traces as being quite similar to those of the American movie star Mary Pickford, whose look was copied by young ladies across the globe (Cardim, 1998, p. 228). The 1930 Satchel Guide (Crockett & Crockett, p. 289) situated Estoril at the Portuguese Riviera, as part of a crescent-shaped shore within whose curve the Cascais Bay stands. A year later, an American tourist registered his impressions on the resort that seduced everyone, for "the Portuguese intend to have a good time in Portugal as visitors do" (Mackall, 1931, p. 165); Lawton Mackall even used the word *non-aggressive* to sum up the atmosphere that would later be fundamental for the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War wealthy refugees in transit to America. By 1934 the French Gabrielle Réval named Estoril as Portugal's mermaid, a cunning teaser that mesmerised European sun-lovers with its assets; as one may read:

Estoril est la sirène du Portugal. Elle attire de tous les points de l'Europe les amants du soleil; ceux de la lumière pure; des beaux crepuscules sur la mer; d'un climat délicieux. Estoril, c'est une autre Riviera, d'ont l'air est plus vif, le caractère plus sauvage (p. 101).

In the following year, Réval's country fellowmen Papy and Gadala (1935) described the shoreline ranging from Cascais to Estoril as both luxurious and wild (p. 64), and that duality characterised the stretch of coastline as whimsical as women are. When in 1929 the official guide of the Portuguese representation at Seville's international exhibition promoted the Sunny Coast listing its all-year-round brilliance that gently touched both waves and sand, and perfumed the whole canvas, it were also female traits that were applied to take the senses of future visitors as hostage. As one may read: "Costa do Sol lhe chamam os estrangeiros, deslumbrados pela luz radiosa que, mesmo em muitos dias de inverno, sobre

ela incide, brincando nas ondas, fulgindo na areia, perfumando toda a paisagem” (*Guia Oficial*, 1929, p. 33). By characterising the Cascais-Estoril area as a *Sunny Coast*, one might recall Hughes (1998) who stated this type of designation aims at conveying a specific image of the promoted site, for each destination’s name bears its own personality (pp. 19-20).

## Leisure & Looks

In the 1930s, the Estoril’s shopping Arcades resembled Parisian shops for selling the latest French fashion items. Meanwhile, stores in Lisbon advertised pieces to be worn while playing Golf and enjoying all sorts of posh events, for the period between 1929 and 1931 was pivotal for the completion of lodging units, leisure venues and other structures within Estoril’s perimeter, like the Golf course (in 1929), the Palace Hotel (1930), and the Casino (1931).

As for equestrian shows, the ownership of a fine horse and its display for leisure purposes was a giveaway of its rider’s material comfort, but the proper dress code was compulsory to socially fit in. Equestrian events were also the perfect setting for fashion stores like *A Pompadour* to announce lady’s parasols as the must-have accessory for that commercial niche market to attend Estoril’s events (*Diário de Lisboa*, 11 May 1929, p. 2). As Cardim (1998) mentions, several *Couture* houses settled in Chiado, central Lisbon, were the trend-setters of the capital city’s elegance (p. 238). França (2010) defends that Estoril was an extension of Lisbon’s luxury for those who still cling to their noble titles and crested rings, while being driven by their *chauffeurs* in uniforms to their tea-drinking afternoons in Chiado, and wearing furs around their necks (p. 284). In 1931 a newspaper described the previous Sunday afternoon in Estoril as one of movement, colour and laughter due to the circling female fashion, whose refinement and lightness even matched that October’s gentle weather. As one reads, Sunday had been “uma tarde cheia de movimento e cor em que as toilettes das senhoras se combinavam com a amenidade do tempo, dando ao campo um ar de distinção e alegria” (*O Estoril*, 18 Oct. 1931, p. 2).

By 1935 the notion of elegance on display was also perceived through the *1<sup>st</sup> Automobile Feminine Elegance Competition*, for following the examples set by Nice, Monte Carlo and Paris (*Diário de Lisboa*, 24 July 1935, p. 3). A women’s magazine went even further when describing the outfits of the competitors, praising the winner’s *finesse*: indeed, *Madame Cordier* had worn a green dress whose shade matched that of her Buick, following Paris’ most recent fashion demands (*Modas & Bordados*, 14 Aug. 1935, p. 9). Focusing on cars, by 1937 the perimeter of the Estoril Park became the perfect set to exhibit the latest Austin, Chrysler, Lancia, Buick, and Oldsmobile models, proving again how the world’s moneyed-elites, and the civilised fashion trends and productions met across Estoril’s resort (*Diário de Lisboa*, 5 April 1937, p. 11).

Returning to leisure events and aesthetic shifts one shall add that in 1934 a recent practice reached the resort under the designation of *1<sup>st</sup> International Dog Show*. The technical cooperation between the *Club de Caçadores de Portugal* (a national hunters group) and the *Sociedade de Propaganda da Costa do Sol* (the Sunny Coast’s private promotional society) led nearly one hundred breeders to the Tamariz beach in September 1934, in order to display their pets according to six categories; the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition happened in 1936 and it already allowed the enrolment of tourists wishing to parade their own breeds on the competitions. The newspaper *O Século* referred that dog breeding was a feminine sport, mainly in England where some women were already renowned judges at international shows (5 Aug. 1936, p. 2). Focusing our attention on the reference to Estoril’s shopping Arcades, at Figueiredo’s 1914 brochure they were described as two half-orange wings meant for the selling of elegant items (*Estoril*, n/d, n/p). Reading advertisements between 1927 and 1932 one perceives the quality offered to the resort’s clients: from pastry shops (serving 5 O’clock tea) to hairdressers, from perfume sellers to Antique dealers. A brief analysis on the ads allows us to conclude that:

- 1) most shops had been inaugurated until the summer of 1930, coinciding with the inauguration of the Palace Hotel and the arrival of the *Sud-Express* railway connection from Paris and Madrid;

- 2) orders could be made by telephone, for such marvellous and expensive device was common to every store;
- 3) most spaces had French-inspired names to seduce the resort's visitors;
- 4) even those bearing Portuguese names sold top quality clothes, accessories and decorative art pieces (Anjos, 2012, pp. 78-79).

Truth of the matter is that on a dialogue between writer Alfredo Pinto (1943) and a French lady newly-arrived from Paris and lodged at the Palace Hotel, *Madame X* (as the author called her) presented her opinion on the Portuguese(-moneyed) woman as a rather beautiful and elegant lady that sadly abused of the fashion her native France exported worldwide (p. 20). On the other hand, a pocket guide written by Rosenthal (1935) to British tourists described the different services offered at the Arcades, as a means to ensure that London's/Paris' rules and pieces of civility and propriety were kept and displayed across the young resort set on the edge of Europe. Not only did she mention hairdressers, jewellers and stationers selling English newspapers, as she also named the Post office, and the Thomas Cook and the *Carlson-Wagonlits* travel agencies (p. 2). All in all, as Agulhon stated, every step of the way modernity enjoys new delights, fabricates new technological toys, and displays the fashion taste of its *status quo* retaining a timeless sense of protocol, dignity and pride that sustains the social barriers, casting the bottom aside from the pyramid's top (qt. in Lousada, 1995, p. 396).

### **Fashion & Fame at the Casino**

Estoril Casino often entitled its programmes (whether dinners, balls, theme parties or tea sessions) as *elegant initiatives*, and the venue served as stage for hair styling competitions and seminars on cosmetics, among other unique moments. A satirical play performed at a folk theatre even revolved around the hedonism copied after Paris and the Riviera, having one of the main scenes centred on the indescribable modern beverage, the Cocktail, as one shall refer ahead. On the other hand, a month after its inauguration in the summer of 1931, the Casino elected the *Queen of Portugal's Seamstresses*; six months earlier, the Palace Hotel had lodged the French Jeanne Julila, a Beauty Queen recently crowned as Miss Europe (*Diário de Lisboa*, 27 April 1931, p. 8).

In Portugal the women's magazine *Modas & Bordados* was a handbook on Beauty & Style, offering advice on products, tips and tricks for daily skin care and clothing models for every occasion and *décor* (on the beach and at the Casino, for girls, women and children), reporting mundane gatherings and the correct behavioural rules. Paris was the epicentre of tendencies and each quake of inspiration touched other capital cities, leading them to emulate ephemeral styles and futile swagger. In the 1920s Coco Chanel presented updated perspectives over the female body; although the 1930s' severe lines reflected the Depression years, concerns over skin and hair, clothes and accessories augmented women's awareness on their health and physical display. This perception was captured by Estoril's promoters, hence the programmes created for this growing niche market, unveiling the latest commercial items like cosmetics and perfumes, thus pampering women especially from 1935 onwards. In October 1934 an article described the meeting of two ladies whose facial freshness was disparate despite both bearing the same age; the one looking younger ended up by recommending the mud mask of the Scientific Beauty Academy to her friend (*Modas & Bordados*, 31 Oct. 1934, p. 15). The article dwelled on Estoril's aura, compulsory guidelines for skin care, and the most recent products whose natural properties had been enhanced by (divine) scientific human intervention. As Riello (2012/ 2013) writes, in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century the notions of Health & Beauty walked hand-in-hand; the evolution of the cosmetics industry shifted the binomial and Man's mastery over Nature was to blame (p. 81).

As for the programmes at the Casino, on the 15<sup>th</sup> August 1935 ladies attended a film session with Maurice Chevalier in the leading role, a concert by singer Aurora Coimbra, and a fashion show on beach clothing and swimming suits. The manikins wore pieces available at *Casa das Meias* (Lisbon) and Mary Silver's store (Estoril), while hairdos had been artistically crafted by the Viral Institute (*O Século*, 15 Aug. 1935, p. 2). A month later, the event *Fashion throughout the Ages* was a parade of costumes worn

from Ancient Greece to the Present-day, with live remarks being offered by host Alexandre Azevedo after poems written by José Galhardo (*Idem*, 16 Sept. 1935, p. 2). In November 1936 hats and winter dresses available at Mrs. Ester's and Mrs. Avanti's *Couture* stores, in Lisbon, were also exhibited at the Casino (*Diário de Lisboa*, 30 Nov. 1936, p. 3). The luxury industry supported these events whenever possible by offering cosmetics and perfume samples. For instance, on a summer 1934 Casino party samples of a new seductive fragrance, the *Noite de Prata*, were presented by the Nally perfume shop (*O Século*, 15 Sept. 1934, p. 1). Consulting the 1929-1936 editions of *Anuário Comercial*, one finds that Guilherme Cardim, one of Estoril's managers, owned a perfume shop in nearby Cascais (the municipal seat), proving the wide and keen eye for business of the resort's managers.

Across Estoril several were the hair stylists available: from the Palace Hotel to the shopping Arcades, including services at private *Villas* nearby. The Casino hosted the *National Hair Styles Contest* (*Diário de Lisboa*, 1 Sep. 1937, p. 2), the celebration of the 25 years of the *Modas & Bordados* (18 May 1938, p. 6) and the *Femina Week* (for women and children) organised by the namesake magazines, and French novelties like *Coloral*, L'Oréal's newest magic product (*O Século*, 5 Aug. 1939, p. 2). Tips and apparatuses were also revealed at the Casino by experts like Martin Arany. His trip to Portugal aimed at inaugurating the *Cinelândia Beauty Institute* in Lisbon, whose ceremony counted on the presence of Portugal's 1<sup>st</sup> Lady, Maria do Carmo Fragoço Carmona, and daughter (*O Século*, 6 Nov. 1938, p. 12). While Paris set trends and Arany brought German-like tastes, Salazar's nationalist philosophy (then dubbed *Política do Espírito*) did its best to rescue the Portuguese people from these influences. The binominal reality explains why as the decade dawned the newspaper *Os Ridículos* published cartoons and a satirical question (27 Aug. 1938, p. 1), wondering that: if ladies now wore headscarves, would the peasant women soon wear hats? The mockery of Fashion's recurrent mood swings and of the fickleness of gender behaviour during a single 24-hour period at trendy resorts even produced a curious remark on a radio broadcast: the *Art of Flirting* varied from the cold chats of barely-dressed couples by the sea during daytime, to the passionate words whispered at the Casino by the strictly-worn social actors at night (Domingues, 1937, p. 15).

While Lousada (1995) defends that the urban identity fostered in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century might explain the dichotomy between leisure areas of free access and those of payable fees as a recent understanding over the commercial exploration of leisure (p. 404), Cardim (1998) reminds us that Pierre Bordieu mentioned that the social structures and fashion set a kind of symbolic violence meant to assert everyone's place in society (p. 24). Truth of the matter is that a mere beverage revealed how Estoril and its moneyed-attendants were seen as *quasi* aliens by the lowest ranks of Portugal's reality. Posh practices common in bars across the resort were mocked by folk plays like *A Cascais uma vez... ou mais*, performed at the Gil Vicente Theatre, in Cascais. In the 8<sup>th</sup> section of the play one reads of a bar of bright red lights where Satan pours the house's speciality, *Hell's Cocktail*, and the clients sing that they drink it solely for fashion's sake (ANTT/SNI/DGSE/Proc. 101 [folha 20]). In 1935 the *Portuguese Times* revealed the ingredients of the *Estoril Cocktail* British clients so enjoyed (30 Jan. 1935, p. 7); another hint of superiority was the habit of taking 5 O'clock Tea. Since 1925 domestic and international tourists could enjoy the service of the *Rendez-Vous du Parc Estoril* pastry shop at the Arcades (*Diário de Lisboa*, 31 Dec. 1927, p. 9), at *A Garrett dos Estoris* inaugurated by the Palace Hotel in 1935 (*Idem*, 6 July 1935, p. 3), at any local lodging unit (the Atlantic Hotel offered tea and concerts every Sunday since late 1934), and by 1936 the *Mah-jong* Tea parties were the latest whim at the Casino (França, 2010, p. 283).

Rescuing a 1932 travel literature statement by a Brazilian tourist, Iveta Ribeiro admitted her astonishment by the Tamariz Tea pavilion and beach at the following lines: "O que (...) transforma o Tamariz no mais agradável recanto daquelas praias fidalgas, é o pavilhão de chá, - uma graciosa e elegante edificação, feita sobre rochas pequenas que a natureza ergueu na praia, já de si rica em pedregosos adornos naturais" (p. 67). *Savoir faire, savoir être, savoir profiter* were the guidelines and common features of the 1930s youthful society as one may read through guide books, personal interviews and travel journals of different nationalities.

### Daring Beachwear and the Suntan Age

The 1930s witnessed the appreciation for a new type of skin beauty: the suntan promoted by Hollywood. Movie stars were the recent role-models and in 1935 actress Heather Thatcher's funny episode in Estoril proved there was more to tanning than just laying under the sun. Decades before, the earliest visitors to the Estoril-Cascais territorial axis had been the British who spent the soft winter months at nearby Monte Estoril's hotels. Not only would that nationality of neurasthenic women and rheumatic older ages be the main niche market targeted by Figueiredo's 1914 project, as their own country fellowmen would also build health venues to serve them. For instance, in 1931 the renowned London's Harley Street's specialist Dr. K. Shaw required official permission for the construction of a solarium in Estoril, and foresaw the resort's unique natural features would soon turn it into the world's most important tourism centre (*O Século*, 9 Sep. 1931, p. 2). At the same time, the thermal springs at the Estoril Park witnessed a revival, not by the sick, but mostly by the young and healthy, eager to socialise and keep fit. In the late 1920s climate and springs were losing grounds to the sun light; as Pfeifer (1986) refers it "the suntan became the golden emblem of beauty and freedom" (p. 216). The aesthetic trend was promoted by Hollywood, and the tanned skin of the wealthy was now a hint of their leisured lifestyles; as Löfgren (2002) recalls that "[a]part from swimming, tanning was the new craze" (p. 168).

In 1934 the American actress Frances Day visited Estoril twice and admitted she would seek its privileged climate, sun and quiet whenever possible (*Modas & Bordados*, 5 May 1934, p. 5). Day was a symbol for a generation of young women also off the silver screen, and her daily agenda at the resort can clear this statement: after sun bathing in the morning and doing physical exercise in the afternoon, her days came to a close with singing lessons. On an interview, she advised the Portuguese women to enjoy the sunlight, for it was the best beauty trick available. (*Idem*, 5 Dec. 1934, p. 5). In 1935 a less disciplined star was the British Heather Thatcher who also sought to rest under Estoril's blessed sun, but her tan voracity caused a sun stroke, confining her to her room at the Palace Hotel "as a result of too much Sun bathing" (*Portuguese Times*, 15 April 1935, p. 1). By the mid-1930s the transition to the Suntan Age also understood sporting practices as open-air activities and permitted the mind games both genders played at the beach. Lübbren (2003) writes of a shift "from 'beach as a remedy' to 'beach as fun'" (p. 134). This awareness led the resort's managers to erect a pavilion in 1938 similar to others already found in Biarritz, or Deauville: the building included shower rooms for each gender, alongside a bar, underlining the threshold between the beach by day and the Casino by night. All in all, the resort kept on pampering its main niche market, the British (*O Estoril*, 15 Sep. 1938, p. 2; *O Século*, 11 Sep. 1938, p. 3). As Gray (2006) defends, "the cult of the Sun had concrete results for the design of the seaside in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. A new seaside architecture developed that included Sun terraces, communal beach bathing stations, solariums, holiday camps and beach huts" (pp. 33-34).

A colourful description of Estoril's beach in the summer of 1930 can be found at the periodical *Ilustração* through photographs of charity teas served inside the Tamariz tea pavilion (1 Aug. 1930, p. 14), and of smiling young bathers wearing American caps, French *maillots* and British footwear (*Idem*, 16 Aug. 1930, p. 31), besides an article by Castelo de Morais (*Ibidem*, 1 Aug. 1930, p. 37). This author reported the modern conversation between three young ladies who sipped tea, smoked fancy cigarettes, and spoke of young men, their cars and cocaine, while listening to Jazz. The Tamariz venue was crowded on Sunday when families gathered to enjoy the service's delights, and many were the events/competitions set for children in its garden (*Diário de Lisboa*, 13 Sep. 1930, p. 5). The Torok brothers were in charge of entertaining bathers with sporting tournaments and beauty shows; the regular *maillots'* contests even inspired a 1931 novel by Henrique Galvão, where the fictional character Luízinha Almoeja is described as the winner of the best swimming suit model for the 2<sup>nd</sup> year in a row (p. 26). While Gray (2006) recalls that the beauty contest was essential for the visual promotion of Western resorts and the material creation/renovation of venues, and speaks of emotional anticipation of the "holiday-making experience" (p. 70) at seaside resorts, the notion of *Liminality* and two photographs published in 1936 and 1939 pop into one's mind.



Turner's and Shield's *Liminality* concept focuses on a transition stage similar to a rite of passage and the less severe *statuo quo* allowed at the beach, where loosen social interaction and dress codes were no longer seen as taboo (qt. in Hughes, 1998, p. 22). As Löfgren (2002) mentions, "here was a new summer life, days at the beach, clowning and swimming, afternoon cocktails by the pool, jazz on the gramophone, sailing cruises, improvised terrace meals, and love affairs" (p. 167). A well-known image of 1930s Estoril beach is the photograph taken by Miguel Reis and that was included in a 1936 national guide (Costa, 1936, p. 65). It depicts three young ladies in bathing suits observing from the Tamariz Tea pavilion the busy activity happening at the sunny beach below. Framed by a window, the visual composition reveals three perspective levels: close to the beholder lay the girls; both beholder and girls focus their attention on the central and bright elements that reveal the beach paraphernalia of the decade; further away, a mysterious summer residence from the late-Romantic period (*Chalet* Barros) grants exoticism to the scenery. Two of the intervenients sit at the table and enjoy cocktails, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> character stands over the window pane getting tanned, for the sunlight caresses the whole central piece of the canvas, which is actually the Tamariz beach (Anjos, 2012, pp. 136-137). A teaser to the senses, the photograph praises the poetry of youth in tanned fit bodies (of the girl standing up on the sill), the joy of leisure and the care-free lifestyle before adulthood, and the beholder can nearly feel the heat of the sunshine, hear the laughter and cheeky remarks of the young ladies sitting down (who seem to be up to no good), and smell the scent of the sea foam deriving from the scene. Another widely-promoted image of the female seduction available at the Tamariz beach was the one published in 1939 by *O Século Ilustrado* (16 Sep. 1939, last page) leading again to another connection between Sand, Sea and Sex. As Wolff referred, "the tanned female body became an ornament of holiday culture. For some men it became a trophy" (qt. in Rojek & Urry, 2005, p. 18). The pursuit of sheer pleasure at the escapist resort is also approached by Gray when writing that "typically in these images, women were numerically and visually dominant and often seemingly unattached, suggesting that (...) men would meet fun-loving women with the promise, perhaps, of much more" (Gray, 2006, pp. 182-183). If Tourism & Fashion pushed the middle and upper classes' moral boundaries to the extreme, Salazar's regime did its best to tighten the grip on the remaining citizens' values by publishing Victorian-like law decrees.

Lipovetsky (1987/ 1989) states that the 1930s beachwear revealed the bather's back, soon leading to the two-piece bathing suit's creation, the bikini (pp. 103-104). In the late 1930s Lisbon's regime tightened the grip around its citizens' beachwear rules, soon publishing the 31:247 law decree (5<sup>th</sup> May 1941), which defined sizes and sites where such pieces were permitted (Pacheco, 2007, p. 33). Its guidelines were actually a means to impose more control over young women, not only by having their education conducted by the dictatorship's feminine organisation *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, but also taking into account the sudden flows of European refugees across Portugal, on their way to America since late-1939. Indeed, the danger of alien corruption hastened the creation of a State-approved swimming suit that followed Christian models (*Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, Aug. 1941, pp. 10-11). Ironically, the regime loosened the control over the international visitors based on their financial comfort, which was being poured into Portugal's vaults through the increase of foreign consumption.

## Conclusion

Unlike what the title of this study could have hinted, its purpose was not to focus on the physical improvement of the national citizens' conditions in the 1930s, since there are already several articles published on the New State's ideals and influence over the minds and bodies of the Portuguese at the time (as one may find while conducting a simple online research at the address of Portugal's National Library). Through the subtitle one gets a clearer perception of what will lay ahead: the unpredictable formula resulting from the sum of Tourism practices and Fashion trends. However, it was a cultural and historical analysis one presented, rather than a mere literary cacophony on the 1930s vanity.

Recalling this study's sections, one started by presenting Estoril's resort as a stunning cosmopolitan lady, selecting general tourist guides and personal accounts of travellers like the American Lawton

Mackall and the French Gabrielle Réval, only to provide descriptions of the feminine connotations bestowed to the Portuguese Riviera: seductive, non-aggressive, bright, lively, and playful, yet nonchalant and whimsical, as if it were a real woman. One also reminded George Hugues' theoretical perspective on how an area, a site, or in this case a resort's designation may be a giveaway of the personality its promoters long to render official, as it would later happen with the Law nr. 1909 published on the 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1935, and that defined the urbanisation plan for the now officially dubbed *Sunny Coast*. The next topic focused on the exact dress codes to be worn at events and competitions enjoyed at the Golf course, the Park, and the Tea pavilion. However, although modernity inflated renewed hope in the hearts of the young and wealthy, Agulhon notes the divide between the social layers did not disappear, for its existence has been at the core of every human society (qtd. in Lousada, 1995, p. 396).

The third section focused on the Casino's stage and the elegant *matinéés* organised to the middle and upper-class women and revolving around new secrets, bits and pieces, as far as clothes, hairstyles and perfumes were concerned. Devoided of financial power *per se* and with too much spare time on her hands, the Casino's *elegant initiatives* were nothing but cunning means to entertain a growing buyers' niche that filled their lack of Self-worth with the glitter and shine of the shifting shades of elegance displayed at the improvised catwalk. Lipovetsky (1987/ 1989) stressed the subconscious need to impress the world and Oneself through the simple change of attire, as if a mere renovation of visual elements were to correspond to the full metamorphosis of the butterfly within every (unoccupied) lady (p. 131).

The last section of this study was blessed by the profusion of Estoril's natural features linked to the enjoyment of the Tamariz sand, sea and sunlight. Reference to the recent aesthetic praise of the suntan was offered through theoretical visions of authors like Maxime Pfeifer, Orvar Löfgren and Nina Lübbren, besides examples of tourist preferences like actresses Frances Day and Heather Thatcher, not forgetting the erection of a pavilion that prompted the idea of a threshold between the *Beach Self* and the *Casino Self* of visitors (a metamorphosis linked to clothing). This final topic rescued contemporary satire, and the association of the visual promotion of resorts and the libido of both genders seeking fun in the escapist environment of the seaside. Paradoxically, if Tourism allowed the winds of prosperity and novelty to blow across Estoril, Lisbon's conservative regime mastered a somewhat bipolar attitude towards it; while, on the one hand it repressed its female citizens to retain a sense of modesty, on the other it welcomed every foreigner's purchase across the resort, since their deep pockets and lavish consumption behaviours proved to be profitable for the State's vaults.

All in all, every generation tends to believe itself as *the* herald of modernity, a leap forward in the trail of Mankind's natural and technological evolution. Therefore, the 1930s were not a lost decade (as one may sometimes read, or hear), but rather another stepping stone on the trajectory that always leads into a new Tomorrow and a new Self, and so far took us to our own Here & Now, in November of 2015. Humanity's behavioural pattern is but an eternal continuum of re-invention.

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